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ACTION IO-06

INFO LOG-00 AF-01 AID-00 CIAE-00 SMEC-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 DOEE-00 SRPP-00 EB-01 H-01 EUR-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 L-01 ADS-00 M-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-02 PRS-01 P-01 SP-00 PM-00 SSO-00 SS-00 STR-01 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00 PMB-00 PRME-01 DRL-09

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FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1701 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 KINSHASA 004996

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW; PARIS FOR MORAN

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, UNSC, PREL PHUM, MOPS, UN, CG, BY, RW

SUBJECT: GOZ POSITION ON THE ISSUE OF LIFTING THE RWANDAN ARMS EMBARGO AND ON MILITARY OBSERVERS STATIONED IN ZAIRE

REF: STATE 189934

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 04996 01 OF 03 101409Z 1. EMBASSY RECEIVED MID-MORNING AUGUST 10 A DIPLOMATIC NOTE

DATED AUGUST 9 FROM THE GOZ MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FORMALLY TRANSMITTING THE GOZ POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF LIFTING THE RWANDAN ARMS EMBARGO AND REQUESTING ITS POSITION BE COMMUNICATED TO OUR AUTHORITIES. THE MAIN POINTS ARE: (A) THE GOZ IS OPPOSED TO THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA: (B) IT REJECTS THE IDEA OF MILITARY OBSERVERS ON ZAIRIAN TERRITORY; (C) THE GOZ REITERATES ITS REQUEST FOR THE CREATION OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS; AND, (D) IT REASSURES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT NO COUNTRY IN CENTRAL AFRICA WILL BE DESTABILIZED BY ZAIRE OR BY OTHERS FROM ZAIRIAN TERRITORY. PARAGRAPH TWO BELOW CONTAINS A HASTY INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE ENCLOSURE TO THE DIPLOMATIC NOTE. PARAGRAPH THREE PROVIDES THE FRENCH TEXT AS RECEIVED. WE HAVE NOT YET ENGAGED ANY ZAIRIAN OFFICIAL ON THE CONTENTS OF THE NOTE VERBALE AND WILL COMMENT SUBSEQUENTLY AS APPROPRIATE.

(2) BEGIN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF ENCLOSURE TO DIPLOMATIC NOTE ENTITLED "POSITION OF ZAIRE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION BEING CONSIDERED IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL AND ON THE QUESTION OF LIFITING THE EMBARGO ON ARMS DESTINED TO RWANDA"

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE HAS TAKEN NOTE OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION UNDER DISCUSSION AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE ISSUE OF LIFTING THE EMBARGO ON ARMS BOUND FOR RWANDA, A DRAFT RESOLUTION INITATED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

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WITH REGARD TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, THE GOZ MAKES THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS:

- I. OUR POINT OF VIEW, DERIVED FROM CAREFUL EXAMINATION IS THAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION INTENDS TO:
 - A) LIFT THE EMBARGO ON WEAPONS BOUND FOR RWANDA, AND
 - B) IMPOSE AN EMBARGO ON ZAIRE AND OTHER COUNTRIES

BORDERING RWANDA.

FOR THE GOZ, THIS APPROACH TO THE ISSUE IS UNACCEPTABLE, SINCE:

- 1. TODAY, BECAUSE OF THE INSECURITY CREATED BY THE MASSIVE INFLUX OF RWANDAN REFUGEES, IT IS ZAIRE'S SECURITY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND SOVEREIGNITY WHICH ARE THREATENED, NOT RWANDA'S.
- 2. RWANDA IS THE ORIGIN OF THE STRONG TENSION PREVAILING IN THE SUB-REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES COUNTRIES WHICH MAY DEGENERATE AT ANY TIME, BECAUSE THE COUNTRY (RWANDA) ENCOURAGES A NEW INFLUX OF REFUGEES TOWARD ZAIRE WHILE IT HAMPERS THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES TO RWANDA IN DIGNITY AND SAFETY.
- 3. IN GENERAL, RWANDA HAS NOT SHOWN GOOD FAITH IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS OBLIGATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT BETWEEN ZAIRE-RWANDA-UNHCR ON THE REPATRIATION OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES, SIGNED IN KINSHASA ON UNCLASSIFIED

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- PAGE 04 KINSHA 04996 01 OF 03 101409Z OCTOBER 24, 1994, ESPECIALLY IN ITS OBLIGATION TO CREATE SAFE ZONES INSIDE RWANDA TO RECEIVE REFUGEES FROM CAMPS ESTABLISHED IN ZAIRE AND TO ENSURE THE REFUGEES SAFE AND DIGIFIED RETURN.
- 4. RWANDA IS SEEKING TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS OF TERRITORY, OF OVERCROWDING, OF ARABLE LANDS AND ITS ETHNIC CONFLICTS, TO THE DETRIMENT OF ITS NEIGHBORS, THROUGH VIOLENCE AND METHODS CONTRARY TO THE RULES OF INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC LAW, NOTABLY THE EXPULSION OF ITS NATIONALS FOR POLITICAL AND TRIBAL REASONS.
- II. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE SECURITY AND PEACE OBJECTIVES IN THE GREAT LAKES SUB-REGION, THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD DEPLORE THE PROLIFERATION OF ARMS IN SUCH A SENSITIVE AND TENSE REGION, AND TAKE ENERGETIC STEPS TO END PROLIFERATION, RATHER THAN LIFTING THE EMBARGO ON SUPPLIES OF ARMS AND OTHER WAR MATERIEL TO RWANDA.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO DISARMING THE MILITIAS AND OTHER GANGS ROAMING THE GREAT LAKES COUNTRIES AS IN A RECENT INCIDENT IN VIRUNGA PARK WHERE A GROUP OF ITALIANS WORKING FOR THE MUNDO JUSTO NGO WERE MURDERED BY

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FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1702

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INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 KINSHASA 004996

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW; PARIS FOR MORAN

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 04996 02 OF 03 101409Z FORMER RWANDAN AMRY SOLDIERS.

III. THE PROJECTED LIFTING OF ARMS IS LIKELY TO CONTRIBUTE TO INSECURITY IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION AND IN EAST AFRICA.

IT IS OBVIOUSLY CONTRARY TO THE OBJECTIVES OF PEACE AND SECURITY SOUGHT BY THE UNSC.

- IV. THEREFORE, THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE :
- 1. OPPOSES THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO ON SUPPLIES OF ARMS TO RWANDA SINCE IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO AGGRAVATING INSECURITY IN THE REGION;
- 2. REJECTS THE IDEA OF DEPLOYING MILITARY OBSERVERS IN ZAIRE;
- 3. RENEWS ITS SUPPORT FOR A CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UN, IN ORDER TO INVESTIGATE THE SUPPLIES OF ARMS TO THE EX-FAR AND TO VERIFY THE ACTUAL POSSIBILITY OF THE ALLEDEGED DESTABILIZATION ACTIVITIES. THE INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY COMMISSION WOULD SUPERVISE THE DISARMAMENT OF MILITIAS WITH SOLDIERS FROM RWANDA, ZAIRE, BURUNDI AND UGANDA, ETC...
 - 4. COMMITS ITSELF TO ASSIST THE UN INQUIRY COMMISSION;
- 5. REASSURES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT NO STATE IN CENTRAL AFRICA IN GENERAL AND IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION IN PARTICULAR WILL BE

DESTABLIZED BY ZAIRE, OR BY OTHERS FROM ZAIRIAN TERRITORY OR UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 KINSHA 04996 02 OF 03 101409Z WITH ZAIRIAN ASSISTANCE.

KINSHASA, AUGUST 9, 1995

THE VICE PRIME MINISTER MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFAIRS

KAMANDA WA KAMANDA

END INFROMAL TRANSLATION OF ENCLOSURE TO DIPLOMATIC NOTE

3. BEGIN OFFICIAL TEXT OF ENCLOSURE TO DIPLOMATIC NOTE ENTITLED "POSITION DU ZAIRE SUR LE PROJET DE RESOLUTION EN DISCUSSION AU CONSEIL DE SECURITE DE L'ONU ET SUR LA QUESTION DE LA LEVEE DE L'EMBARGE SUR LES ARMES DESTINEES AU RWANDA"

LE MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU ZAIRE A PRIS CONNAISSANCE DU PROJET DE RESOLUTION EN DISCUSSION AU CONSEIL DE SECURITE SUR LA QUESTION DE LA LEVEE DE L'EMBARGO SUR LES ARMES DESTINEES AU RWANDA, PROJET DE RESOLUTION INITIE PAR LES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE, MEMBRE PERMANENT DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE.

CE PROJET DE RESOLUTION APPELLE DE LA PART DU GOUVERNEMENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU ZAIRE, LES OBSERVATIONS SUIVANTES:

I. LA PHILOSOPHIE QUI SE DEGAGE DE L'EXAMEN ATTENTIF DE CE PROJET DE RESOLUTION EST QU'IL TEND EN REALITE: UNCLASSIFIED

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A/ - A LEVER L'EMBARGO SUR LES ARMES DESTINEES AU RWANDA ET

B/ - A DECRETER OU A IMPOSER L'EMBARGO SUR LE ZAIRE ET LES AUTRES PAYS VOISINS DU RWANDA.

POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU ZAIRE, CETTE APPROCHE DU PROBLEME EST INACCEPTABLE PARCE QUE:

- 1. AU JOUR D'AUJOURD'HUI ET A CAUSE DE L'EFFERVESCENCE CREEE PAR L'AFFLUX MASSIF DES REFUGIES RWANDAIS SUR SON TERRITOIRE, C'EST LA SECURITE, L'INTEGRITE TERRITORIALE ET LA SOUVERAINETE DU ZAIRE QUI SONT MENACEES ET NON CELLES DU RWANDA.
- 2. LE RWANDA EST A LA BASE DE LA FORTE TENSION QUI REGNE DANS LA SOUS-REGION DES PAYS DES GRANDS LACS ET QUI PEUT DEGENERER A TOUT MOMENT CAR CE PAYS ENCOURAGE UN NOUVEAU FLUX DE REFUGIES VERS LE ZAIRE EN MEME TEMPS QU'IL FAIT OBSTRUCTION AU RETOUR DES REFUGIES AU RWANDA DANS LA DIGNITE ET LA SECURITE.
- 3. D'UNE MANIERE GENERALE, LE RWANDA N'A PAS FAIT PREUVE DE

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BONNE FOI DANS L'EXECUTION DES OBLIGATIONS QUE LUI IMPOSE
L'ACCORD TRIPARTITE ZAIRE - RWANDA - HCR SUR LE RAPATRIEMENT
DES REFUGIES RWANDAIS, SIGNE A KINSHASA LE 24 OCTOBRE 1994
ET EN PARTICULIER DANS L'EXECUTION DE L'OBLIGATION RELATIVE
A LA CREATION DE ZONES DE SECURITY OU D'ACCEUIL A
L'INTERIEUR DU RWANDA POUR RECEVOIR LES REFUGIES DES CAMPS
ETABLIS AU ZAIRE ET POUR ASSURER LEUR REINSERTION DANS LA
SECURITE ET LA DIGNITE.

- 4. LE RWANDA CHERCHE MANIFESTEMENT A RESOUDRE SES PROBLEMES D'EXIGUITE DE TERRITOIRE DE SURPEUPLEMENT DE TERRES ARABLES AINSI QUE SES CONFLITS INTERETHNIQUES AU DETRIMENT DE SES VOISINS PAR LA VIOLENCE ET DES METHODES CONTRAÎRES AUX REGLES DE DROIT PUBLIC INTERNE ET INTERNATIONAL NOTAMMENT L'EXPULSION DE SES NATIONAUX POUR DES RAISONS POLITIQUES ET ETHNOTRIBALES.
- II. POUR ATTEINDRE LES OBJECTIFS DE SECURITE ET DE PAIX DANS LA SOUS-REGION DES GRANDS LACS LE CONSEIL DE SECURITE DEVRAIT DEPLORER LA PROLIFERATION DES ARMES ACTUELLEMENT EN CIRCULATION DANS UNE REGION AUSSI SENSIBLE ET SOUMISE A UNE FORTE TENSION PRENDRE DES MESURES ENERGIQUES POUR Y METTRE FIN PLUTOT QUE DE LEVER L'EMBARGO SUR LA FOURNITURE DES ARMES ET D'AUTRES MATERIELS DE GUERRE AU RWANDA.

LE CONSEIL DE SECURITE DEVRAIT DONNER PRIORITE A LA QUESTION DU DESARMEMENT DES MILICES ET D'AUTRES BANDES ARMEES CIRCULANT DANS LES PAYS DE LA SOUS-REGION DES GRANDS LACS ET SEMANT LA DESOLATION COMME CELA A ETE LE CAS DERNIEREMENT AU PARC DE VIRUNGA OU UN GROUPE D'ITALIENS TRAVAILLANT POUR L'ONG MUNDO JUSTO ONT ETE TUES PAR DES ELEMENTS DES EX-FAR. UNCLASSIFIED

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III. LA LEVEE DE L'EMBARGO PROJETEE EST SUSCEPTIBLE DE CONTRIBUER A L'EMBRASEMENT DE LA SOUS-REGION DES GRANDS LACS ET DE L'AFRIQUE DE L'EST.

ELLE EST MANIFESTEMENT CONTRAIRE AUX OBJECTIFS DE SECURITE ET DE PAIX QUE POURSUIT LE CONSEIL DE SECURITE DE L'ONU.

- IV. POUR TOUTES CES RAISONS, LE GOUVERNEMENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU ZAIRE:
- 1. S'OPPOSE A LA LEVEE DE L'EMBARGO SUR LA FOURNITURE D'ARMES AU RWANDA PARCE QU'ELLE CONTRIBUERAIT A AGGRAVER L'INSECURITE DANS LA REGION ET PORTE LES GERMES DE LA GUERRE;
- 2. REJETTE L'IDEE DU REDEPLOIEMENT DES OBSERVATEURS MILITAIRES AU ZAIRE;

- 3. REITERE SON APPUI A LA CREATION D'UNE COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE D'ENQUETE SOUS LES AUSPICES DE L'ONU EN VUE DE MENER DES INVESTIGATIONS SUR LA FOURNITURE D'ARMES AUX EX-FAR ET DE VERIFIER LA REALITE EVENTUELLE DES PRETENDUES ACTIVITES DE DESTABILISATION. CETTE COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE D'ENQUETE POURRAIT SUPERVISER LE DESARMEMENT DES BANDES ARMEES PAR LES FORCES REGULIERES DE CHAQUE PAYS AU RWANDA AU ZAIRE AU BURUNDI ET EN OUNGANDA ETC.
- 4. S'ENGAGE A APPORTER SON CONCOURS A LA COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE D'ENQUETE DE L'ONU;
- 5. RASSURE L'ENSEMBLE DE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE ET LE UNCLASSIFIED

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CONSEIL DE SECURITY QU'AUCUN ETAT DE LA REGION DE L'AFRIQUE
CENTRALE EN GENERAL ET DE LA SOUS-REGION DES PAYS DES GRANDS
LACS EN PARTICULIER NE SERA DESTABILISE PAR LE ZAIRE A
PARTIR DU ZAIRE ET SURTOUT AVEC SON CONSOURS. END TEXT
YATES